

Message Text

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FM USMISION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2787

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AMEMBASSY BONN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L NATO 3841

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, MNUC, NPG

SUBJECT: NPG-PHASE III

REF: A. STATE 167549

B. USNATO 3734

C. USNATO 3763

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES MISSION COMMENTS ON WASHINGTON GUIDANCE FOR INITIATION OF PHASE III. WE RECOMMEND EARLY CIRCULATION OF US SCOPE PAPER ON PHASE III. END SUMMARY.

1. WE WELCOME GENERAL APPROACH FOR GETTING UNDER WAY IN PHASE III SET FORTH IN REF A. WE HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF WASHINGTON GUIDANCE.

2. AS WASHINGTON KNOWS FROM REPORTS ON STAFF GROUP MEETINGS IN REFS B AND C, THE STAFF GROUP CHAIRMAN AND THE UK HAVE ADVANCED
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PROPOSALS INVITING NPG MEMBERS TO SUBMIT PAPERS ON THEIR

VIEWS ON SCOPE AND CONDUCT OF PHASE III. WITH WASHINGTON GUIDANCE NOW IN HAND, WE WILL ENCOURAGE SUPPORT FOR THIS COURSE OF ACTION. WE WILL, OF COURSE, ADVISE NPG MEMBERS THAT THE US WILL SUBMIT SUCH A PAPER.

3. HOW NPG ALLIES VIEW PHASE III WILL BE LARGELY CONDITIONED BY US PROPOSALS. WE RECOMMEND EARLY CIRCULATION OF THE US PAPER, PREFERABLY BEFORE NEXT MEETING OF STAFF GROUP ON JULY 28, IN ORDER TO START CRYSTALLIZING ALLIED THINKING. WE ARE INCLUDED TO BELIEVE, AS INDICATED IN REF C, THAT OTHER NPG MEMBERS, WITH POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF UK AND FRG, MAY NOT SUBMIT INDEPENDENT SCOPE PAPERS ON PHASE III. THEY WILL PROBABLY TEND TO RELY ON THE US PAPER AS A BASIS FOR DISCUSSION. THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, THERE ARE CLEAR POLITICAL BENEFITS IN AT LEAST SOLICITING THEIR INDEPENDENT VIEWS.

4. WE BELIEVE THAT THE US APPROACH TO PHASE III SHOULD CLEARLY SET FORTH AS THE OBJECTIVE OF PHASE III THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CLEAR AND SUCCINCT STATEMENT OF DOCTRINE FOR THE USE OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES. IT QUITE OBVIOUSLY SHOULD DRAW ON ANY ELEMENTS OF EXISTING NATO POLICY THAT THE US AND OTHERS CONSIDER VALID. THE INITIAL USE GUIDELINES, IN PARTICULAR, CONTAIN MANY NOTIONS THAT ARE NOT ARTICULATED IN US EMPLOYMENT POLICY. BUT, WE SHOULD STEER ALLIES AWAY FROM VIEWING "CONSOLIDATION" AS A ROTE DRAFTING EXERCISE. WE DO NOT THINK THAT PHASE II SHOULD INVOLVE MUCH EXAMINATION OF DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN INITIAL AND FOLLOW-ON USE, ETC., AND RECALL SECDEF'S REMARKS TO THIS EFFECT AT MONTEREY. THE EFFORT SHOULD, IN FACT, BREAK NEW GROUND, AND ALTHOUGH THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT IT WILL INVALIDATE THE SUBSTANCE OF EXISTING GUIDANCE, IT WOULD EXTEND ITS SCOPE AND PRESENT HARD STATEMENTS OF NATO POLICY FOR USE OF THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPONS. IT SHOULD BE READILY UNDERSTANDABLE BY SENIOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY AUTHORITIES, AND SHOULD DESCRIBE THE ROLE OF THEATER NUCLEAR FORCES IN THE OVERALL CONTEXT OF ALLIANCE STRATEGY AND THE NATO TRADE. IN ORDER TO MOVE THE ALLIES IN THIS DIRECTION, WE HOPE THAT THE US PAPER WILL SERVE TO LEAD PHASE III IN THE DIRECTION DESCRIBED IN PARA 6 OF REF A.

5. WE AGREE THAT EXISTING CONSULTATION GUIDELINES SHOULD STAND
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APART FROM PHASE III, AND ALSO THAT ISSUES OF FORCE STRUCTURE, NEW TECHNOLOGY, ETC. SHOULD BE PURSUED ON A SEPARATE, BUT SIMULTANEOUS AND PARALLEL TRACK. PHASE III, HOWEVER, SHOULD INCLUDE MATERIAL RELATING FORCE STRUCTURE TO DOCTRINE, AT LEAST IN CONCEPTUAL TERMS.

6. WE MAY RUN INTO TROUBLE WITH THE IDEA IN PARA 4, REF A OF ATTACHING NATIONAL PAPERS TO A PERMREPS REPORT, INSTEAD OF

WORKING TOWARD A SINGLE, AGREE SCOPE FOR PHASE III WHICH COULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THE PERMREPS REPORT. AS INDICATED ABOVE, WE MAY NOT GET MANY, IF ANY, NATIONAL PAPERS FROM THE ALLIES. IN ADDITION, WE ANTICIPATE THAT SOME OF THE ALLIES WILL ARGUE THAT ATTACHING VARIOUS NATIONAL PROPOSALS TO A COVER REPORT ON ORGANIZATION WILL NOT RESULT IN ANYTHING CONCRETE FOR PERMREPS OR MINISTERS TO ENDORSE. AT THIS STAGE, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOT PRESS THE IDEA OF ANNEXING NATIONAL PAPERS, BUT SIMPLY POSE THIS POSSIBILITY, AND THEN WAIT AND SEE WHAT NATIONAL INPUTS WE GET. IF IN THE END THE US MAKES THE ONLY SUBSTANTIVE CONTRIBUTION, AND IF THE ALLIES INDICATE ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT WITH IT, WE MIGHT CONSIDER SIMPLY INCORPORATING IT DIRECTLY INTO A DRAFT PERMREPS REPORT FOR SUBSEQUENT ENDORSEMENT BY PERMREPS AND MINISTERS. KEY POINT, IN OUR VIEW, IS THAT WE SHOULD NOT ENTERTAIN ANY SUBSTANTIVE WATERING DOWN OF THE US PAPER, AND THAT AIM SHOULD GUIDE OUR TACTICS. WE WILL KEEP

WASHINGTON FULLY ADVISED ON ALLIED VIEWS AND REACTIONS TO THE US PAPER.

7. CONCERNING ORGANIZATION, WE AGREE THAT WE SHOULD AIM FOR A SMALL GROUP TO DO THE REAL DRAFTING OF THE PHASE III EFFORT. WE WILL HOLD FIRMLY TO THIS BASIC OBJECTIVE IN DISCUSSIONS HERE WITH THE ALLIES, AND AIM FOR A SMALL DRAFTING GROUP CONSISTING OF US, UK, AND FRG. WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, FORECLOSE AT THIS STAGE POSSIBLE DESIRABILITY OF INCLUDING ONE OR TWO OF THE SMALL COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE SHAPE SHOULD PARTICIPATE.

8. MORE GENERALLY, WE THINK THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO LIMIT PARTICIPATION IN THE PHASE III PROJECT TO THE EXTENT THAT OCCURRED IN PHASE II. WE SHOULD DEVISE AN APPROACH THAT WOULD BE SOME EXTENT ENABLE OTHER CONFIDENTIAL

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MEMBERS OF THE NPG TO GAIN EDUCATIONAL BENEFIT FROM AN UNDERTAKING LIKE PHASE III AND ACQUIRE A SENSE OF IDENTIFICATION WITH IT. ONE APPROACH MIGHT BE TO ESTABLISH A PANEL OF ALL INTERESTED MEMBERS THAT WOULD FROM TIME TO TIME REVIEW AND COMMENT UPON SOME OF THE WORK OF THE SMALL DRAFTING COMMITTEE. THIS WOULD ENABLE MEMBERS OF THE NPG WHO WISHED TO DO SO TO CONTRIBUTE AT VARIOUS STAGES ALONG THE WAY, BUT WOULD PRESERVE

THE BASIC AIM OF HAVING THE REAL WORK DONE BY A SMALL DRAFTING GROUP. IN ANY CASE, ONCE WE HAVE TABLED THE US PAPER ON PHASE III, AND IF AND WHEN OTHER NATIONAL PROPOSALS ARE RECEIVED, IT WILL BE EASIER TO WORK TOWARD A CONSENSUS ON ORGANIZATION FOR THE EFFORT.
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